

681 resented another as to desire to take his life. An
 578 arbitrator would witness and, by agreement, each would
 627 beat the others, in order to dispell the resentment.
 Criminals are also said to have been beaten in this
 fashion." In criminal cases only the guilty, of course,
 were clubbed but in those cases when no decision could
 be reached as to which of the two parties was guilty
 they were allowed to beat each other. Thus, *Charanke*
 or disputation often resulted in *Ukaru* or mutual beat-
 ing. *Ezo Shima Ki* describes it as follows: "When an
 argument developed into a fight there would be an
 agreement on a *Sutsuuchi*." That this mutual clubbing
 can be considered, as in *Ashinpe*, an expiation of crime,
 is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki* but most significantly
 in the *Igen Zokuwa* wherein it is noted: "When parties
 to an argument reach a peaceful settlement, the party
 in the wrong offers to the other *Ashinpe*, or by *Ukaru*
 both parties beat each other after which they resume
 their friendship. This was the custom of the Ezo."
 The *Ezo Shima Kikan* [The Wonders of Ezo] rein-
 forces this observation: "In those cases where *Ukaru*
 is wanted instead of wealth, a meeting of the families
 of the two parties is held and the person held to commit
 the offense is beaten first three times with a mallet after
 which he beats the other party. If, after the beating,
 both parties are uninjured it is considered then that
 there was no need for atonement."

681 *Ukaru* was then not merely a punishment. This
 627 can be seen partly by the fact that both parties to the
 783 dispute beat each other and, often, came out unharmed.
 It can also be seen from the *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* [De-
 scription of the Industries of Ezo] that *Ukaru* was not
 only used to settle disputes but was also used in cases
 of unnatural death, the death of parents, epidemics and
 in weather rites, all of which indicates that *Ukaru* was
 also a method for driving off evil spirits. Since *Ukaru*
 settled disputes and since there were always disputes it
 was important for the men to be in constant training for
Ukaru. This training took the form of sports as seen
 in detail in the *Ezo Dan Hikki* and the *Tōyū Zakki* and
 is the same ceremony which was performed, in con-
 junction with dances, for the Japanese inspectors. The
 definition of *Ukaru* given by Batchelor in his *Ainu-
 English-Japanese Dictionary* "a game of beating each
 other with clubs" was meant in this latter sense and a
 weakening of its use in the regulation of Ainu society
 is evident in that *Ukaru*, originally sacred, became a
 game. It should also be noted that the removal of
 hair and beard was far more than a symbolic punish-
 ment, for the Ainu had especial respect for their hair
 and believed that a part of their life force lay in it,
 and in addition the removal of it was no doubt a
 torturous thing. The settlements of disputes and the
 punishments inflicted on violators so far mentioned
 were rarely used within the village as intra-village peace
 was well maintained. The necessity for their use arose
 in intervillage quarrels where the social regulatory

INTRODUCTION

SOME FUNDAMENTALS

In order to get a clear understanding of the meaning of what has been written in some of the chapters contained in this book, it is necessary to be acquainted with a few of the chief fundamental principles of Ainu esoteric philosophy, religious belief, and superstition. Without some such knowledge, the perusal of this book will most likely render this peculiar race more enigmatical and incomprehensible than ever. It is therefore the purpose of what now follows to set forth briefly such fundamentals as may be useful to the reader in explaining some of the lore of the Ainu people and the references to their ancient customs.

First, as regards man himself. There is a great difference between the Ainu conception of man and our own. We speak of him as being of a tripartite nature, namely, body, soul, and spirit. But the Ainu speak of him as being of a simple dual nature, viz. soul and body. With them, the body is an appanage or mere shell. It is as a garment to be cast off presently. A house, so to speak, in which a person lives and moves, and by means of which he acts for a short time only. It will cease to be, but the real man will live for ever. Immortality is not imposed upon him but is naturally inherent. It is a part—the chief part—of him. When, therefore, in this book a person is said to die or get killed, it can refer only to the body. He may be killed in war, for example, but he may very easily immediately assume another human form and reappear to carry on the fight and be killed again and again.

8 AINU LIFE AND LORE

826 *They are upright in*
[48] carriage and have a light, lithe, springy walk when young. Their noses are short and straight, flattish and rounded at the nostrils. Their mouths are wide, as a rule, and the lips thick. The neck is short and the brow high, broad and massive. The eye-socket is round and the eyebrows thick and long. They speak of themselves as people of the "same eye-socket" in contradistinction to their Japanese neighbours, whose eyes are very often almond-shaped. Just as the Jews of old said "bone of my bone" and "flesh of my flesh" to indicate blood relationship, so the old Ainu even today say, "people of the same eye-socket," when they refer to their own people. To have round, fat, red, chubby faces is considered by them to be very beautiful, and a fine pair of dark brown, twinkling, wide-awake round eyes peeping from under the eyebrows is quite a pleasing phenomenon. Especially is this so with children. Wavy hair is much prized among them, and one who has curly hair is said to be a person having the "hair of the gods."

826 The beards of the men form a remarkable feature
302 among them. They are very proud of them, more especially if they are extra long. And they take great care of them. I was once asked if I could give a man some grease or oil to put on his hair to make it look more glossy and grow longer! "What do you use yourself?" he asked! I have seen fine bushy beards more than a foot long among them, which, when turned white, gave the men a very dignified, venerable and patriarchal appearance. But I am bound to say that [65] one does not now meet with so many old men as one did fifty years ago. The people do not seem to live so long now as they did in years gone by.

THE GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE AINU 9



A COMMON MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.



A CEREMONIAL MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

The moustache also is very thick and sometimes gets in the way when drinking or taking soup, so the men have invented a kind of "lifter" for them. These instruments are pieces of wood shaved down flat, about nine inches long, pointed at one end, and an inch or so wide. With these they hold their moustaches up and so keep them out of their food or whatever they may be drinking. The pointed end is to dip into the *saké* or anything they may be drinking at the time, and so take out a few drops and offer them as libations to the gods; even soup is sometimes thus offered. Fuji, the Goddess of Fire, especially, comes in for a portion. The libations are offered with deep reverence and may be regarded as a kind of "grace" said before meat. Should there happen to be no "lifter" near when needed, they use the index finger instead to hold up the moustache. One wonders why they have not invented moustache-cups for themselves.

When I first came among them I found that the people were very careful not to lose any of their hair, As Samson's strength was said to be in his hair, so the Ainu appeared to imagine their life depended in good measure on theirs. Many years ago a woman came to me in great distress because her son had been detained in a Japanese prison and the authorities there had shaved his head. This, she declared, was a double punishment and a very severe one, because the cutting off of the hair would surely shorten the poor boy's life!

- 826 The lad himself thought likewise, and I am sure the auto-suggestion thus brought about injured his health.

302 The hair of both men and women was cut off just
826 above the shoulders at the sides, and at the back in the form of a quarter moon. When clipping the hair, as was, of course, sometimes necessary, the people were very careful not to allow an enemy to get hold of any of it. Should he obtain even a little, he might practise sympathetic magic by praying over it for evil to rest upon the original possessor. Or he might bury it and thus cause the man's body to grow weak and his life to fade away. I find an echo of this belief in what an Ainu once told me. It was this:

177 "In the days of the Tokugawa régime the people
302 were ordered to cut their hair in Japanese style. Upon this order going forth, the chiefs of Yezo (now called Hokkaidō) held a great meeting at which it was decided to send a deputation to beg that the order might be rescinded. "For," said the people, "we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods." And, although a few of the Ainu living at Mori did cut their hair as commanded, the people as a whole were let off, much to their delight. It may be added in this place that, although there are still Ainu at Mori, they have become so Japonized in thought, customs and language, as well as in dress, that they are indistinguishable from the Japanese among whom they dwell.

302 But there are exceptions in which hair cutting was
765 not only allowed but actually commanded. They were
826 in cases of death where mourning for the dead was considered necessary and proper. One order about this was as follows. "Should a man lose his wife by death, let him immediately cut his hair and assume a general look of dejection. But he may not, as is done in the case of the women, wear a hood upon his head, because
[776] he must worship the gods and mix with men. It is not befitting in a man to approach the gods having his

THE GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE AINU 11

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware."

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion.

Apupos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them!

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way

THE BIRTH TREE AND CHILD-BIRTH

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cular message to send to the race. When visiting another sick friend a year or two ago, an old woman was there whom I had never seen before. When she heard me speaking to the patient and giving her words of encouragement and comfort in her own tongue, she suddenly burst out, "What is this? Do I hear the voice of the old gods of Ainu-land? Has one of our ancestors been reincarnated and come to us in this man? I am astonished." Yes, and so was I. The lore regarding this is as follows:

"Women ought to be told that people are sometimes reborn into this world. They should therefore carefully examine a baby's ears as soon as it is born, to see whether they have been bored. If they have, it is a certain sign that a departed ancestor has come back with a message. And if this is the case, he has returned for some very good purpose." It should be remarked here that the Ainu bore one another's ears so as to be able to wear metal rings or cloth in them. It also appears to be a sign of brotherhood, for when I had one day been speaking on the subject of the brotherhood of mankind, the people asked me to allow them to bore my ears to show that I was one of themselves. But I asked them to allow me to remain as I was, and to regard me as a sort of freak. And they agreed to accept me without being bored.

It is expected of the mother that she get up as soon as possible after the child has been born. But for two days she must go gently, and take nothing at all to eat excepting thin millet gruel. She may not even drink any water. But after the second day she may eat anything that is going. It is considered best for her to stay quietly about the house for the sacred six days, and on the seventh go to the water spring or river and there give herself a good washing. After having been thus purified, she is expected to bring some water home with her for cooking purposes. She is now theoretically strong and fit for work again.

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC

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and tossed it into the sea. He himself declared that they knocked him down. This was in the year 1890. I suppose it was ignorance of Ainu superstitions which made him persist in his sketching when asked not to do so. 114 784

It was an old belief among the Ainu that by sketching or taking their photographs, especially when in a nude condition, their natural life was shortened in some mysterious way. The term they used with reference to it was *Ainu katu change*, i.e., "The man draws near to his form." This is the same as saying "he is getting near to death," or "he is becoming a ghost." Hence Mr. Landor's bother with them. 215 532 291 826

The people appeared to see something uncanny in their mere forms being produced on glass or paper without substance. To speak of the form of a person among them is the same as speaking of his soul, spirit or ghost, sometimes, even at the present day.

Dr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwelt there. In his book entitled "Trans-Siberian Savages," I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. On page 95 we read that Dr. Howard brought out his hand-mirror for the instruction of the people. He says: "This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it," etc.

On page 96 he writes: "In a very quiet way I have taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them fur- 114

ther with my wonderful powers, I took an almost endless amount of trouble to develop a few of them, especially the portraits. Of these, the only one now in my possession is a portrait of the old chief. The worst of it is that my loss of the others is due to a calamity which such immense pains innocently brought about.

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215 • "One day, when several men were in the hut with the chief, I took the opportunity to attempt a surprise and watch the effect upon them as I displayed before them their newly-finished portraits. Instantly they sprang to their feet as if they had been shot. All except the chief rushed out of the hut as if in a rage. The old chief stamped up and down the hut in the greatest distress. Hearing a great hubbub, mixed with wild cries, outside, I went to the hut door, where I found these people, whose gentle virtues I had so faithfully depicted, raving and gesticulating in a most menacing manner. To my utter consternation, I saw that some of them were brandishing sticks, some of them knives—that, indeed, one and all were suddenly changed to savages of the wildest type.

"Utterly bewildered at the sudden change of affairs, yet assuming that the pictures must have in some way been the cause of it, and remembering as I did the effect of the looking-glass upon them, I appealed as well as I could to the chief, exhibited my regret, and tried to make him understand that I placed myself and everything I had in his hands. To make a clean breast of it, I brought out my pictures, my apparatus and everything that pertained to it, and offered to put them all into the fireplace; but there was no fire. Meanwhile, the people outside grew so violent that the chief was obliged to go out to them.

"After a long parley, the chief returned and made me understand that I must carry everything outside. As fast as they could do it, a big fire was kindled in front of the hut. Inao (fetishes) were stuck in the

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC

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ground all round the fire, and following their intimations, while they stood back in great alarm, I threw my poor kodak, my pictures, all my apparatus, on the fire, and stood there calmly looking on till nothing was left of them but ashes." 215 826 ●

Such is Mr. Howard's very interesting account. In a later chapter on witchcraft, I shall mention clothes-cutting, driving nails into the image of an enemy, and sending other images of enemies to perish at sea as instances of sympathetic magic which actually came under my personal observation. There are other matters connected with this side of the cult which I think well worth a mention and which I got an Ainu man to write out for me many years ago. He wrote thus: 114

"The name for these things is 'ichashkara,' i.e., 'inclosing in a fence,' and there are several ways of doing it. Should a man or woman have a quarrel, and desire to compass their enemies' hurt by magic, he or she should procure some mugwort and make an image to represent the body. This image is called 'imosh.' When made, a hole should be dug in the earth not far from the house, and the image cursed and placed in it upside down. 754

"The prayer to be used at such a time should be:

"'O demon who art called 'tolpuk-un-chiri,' i.e., 'underground bird-demon,' I give this image of the person I hate to thee; take the man's soul and carry it together with his body to hell; turn thou my enemy into one of thy own kind, made him a demon.' If this be done, the person who has been cursed will fall sick and die. His body will rot away as the image decomposes.

"Another way of avenging oneself on an enemy is to place the image beneath the trunk of a rotten tree. After having thus buried it, the following prayer should be said: 'O demon, make the body of the person represented by this image to rot with this tree, and let

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for example, as ague and fever, heavy colds, stomach-ache, and prickings at the lungs (consumption). Now, when such complaints arise, the full-grown men should meet together and go to the villages up and down the rivers, and take from each hut a small portion of millet, fish, tobacco, skunk cabbage, and cow-parasnip. When they have secured these, they should bring them to an appointed place, where the men should sit down and pray. After the prayer they should carry all to the seashore, then reverently make fetishes and place them by their side. When this has been done, they should lift up their voices and say, 'O ye demons of the bays and harbours, have mercy upon us! O ye demons of disease, ye fearful beings, pay attention! We have with one accord met together and decided to enrich you with fetishes and various kinds of food. Do ye wait upon the demons who have afflicted us, and on our behalf entreat them to take their departure. We present these articles of food for your dinner, and the fetishes are paid as a fine. O all ye demon watchers over the harbours and bays, have the demons of disease taken away from our villages!' If this prayer be said and the ceremony performed, the sicknesses will speedily take their departure."

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While sitting with this man by his hearth, he volunteered the following lore. "When one has palpitation of the heart, it is a sign that he is about to hear bad news, such as news of a fire, serious sickness, or death. As soon, therefore, as the palpitation comes, he should at once rub the place six times and say, 'As I do not wish to hear any bad news, I now brush myself six times.' For this purpose he should take a small stick or piece of grass, break it into six pieces, and brush them carefully over the place." Again, "If the upper eyelid twitches, it is a sign that one is about to see something very interesting.

ON PATHOLOGY

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If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make 787
known the fact that there is to be a walling for the 826
dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a per-
son's good genius which makes known such things
to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should 753
any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his 755
feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin
of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The
reason is that the name for 'wart' is *cremu-tampu*, i.e.
'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes,
which catch and eat them. Therefore such things
cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into
powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps
quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number 278
of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among 755
such I found the feather-columbine, the common 164
celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-
cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the
petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and
others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river
otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the
seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The
dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted
and the flour boiled till it became something like pea
soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For
some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder
bark in cold water was administered. Another way
was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the
sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were
chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the
people could use so many remedies, and survive, I can-
not understand!

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a 278
nail very hot and held it on the offending member. 752
This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

756 There was much weeping and howling, and the dust caused by the sweeping was enough to kill almost anyone.

753 It is doubtless well to look on the bright side of
● 826 things, and it is some comfort that even the most
757 vexatious complaint of the body often points in some
inexplicable manner to a future good. On a certain
occasion I was very much afflicted with boils, and
quite unable to get about. An Ainu friend, hearing
of my plight, kindly came to see and sympathise with
me. After making very many kind enquiries, he said,
just before leaving, "Oh, you need not trouble about
your boils, for when people have boils, it is a sure sign
that the coming year will be a good one for the garden
crops; my master must therefore bear his trouble with
joy and fortitude." I have great pleasure in passing
on this consolation to all friends suffering from boils.
It is not known by the Ainu whether boils are sent
by gods or demons; each man must decide this ques-
tion for himself.

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AINU MAN AND WOMAN ON HORSEBACK.

CHAPTER XI.

From Akkeshi to Nemuro—A Horse Station—Nemuro and its People.

132 THE road in the proximity of Akkeshi was extremely muddy and slippery, owing to the continuous fogs and rain. A north wind was blowing hard the day I left for Kiritap, and it drove the mist and drizzly rain right through one's skin into one's bones. The fogs, which are prevalent all along the coast, seem to excel between Akkeshi and Kiritap; so much so that the Japanese in the neighbourhood make them answerable for their baldness, and the local Ainu say they are so scantily hirsute because of the everlasting dampness in which they live. They clinch their argument by reminding you that when their forefathers came to this part of the coast they were as hairy as the bear, so what can have caused their own comparative smoothness but these everlasting fogs? I believe that to a great extent they are right, for when, after a day's wet ride, I

[P. 106]

801 make, especially at myself while I was sketching them ; but one or two of their "favourites" may prove worth describing.

One Ainu at Shari, on the north-east coast, excelled in moving his scalp, and by raising his eyebrows at the same time creased the skin of his forehead to such an extent as to make his eyebrows almost meet his hair. The nostrils were expanded and the upper lip was raised so as to show the teeth firmly closed. The same man was also good at moving his ears. Others preferred to put out their tongue, emitting at the same time a harsh sound from the throat.

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149 Although many Ainu could not voluntarily move their scalp they often did so unaware. When eating, especially if a piece of food required some effort to swallow, the neck was outstretched, the mouth closed tight, the eyebrows raised high, and the scalp brought far forward over the forehead. In masticating, the ears would sometimes move involuntarily, as with dogs or monkeys.

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• 826 The Ainu are also good at rapid "winking," first with one eye, then the other, each eye playing at an inexpressibly funny kind of bo-peep. *En revanche*, they make no great use of their hands, and it is not uncommon for them to use their feet to assist their hands. Indeed, their toes are supplementary fingers, and they often hold things between the big toe and the next, as when making nets or *Inaos* (wooden wands with overhanging shavings). When making nets, the string is firmly held by the big toe bent over ; when shaping *Inaos* the lower point of the wand is passed between the two toes, which keep it fast while the long shavings are cut.

[286]
[325]
283 When women wind the thread made of the *Ulmus campestris* fibre, they often let it run between the two larger toes while they wind it on a spool or a reed. Then, again, the toes are often used to pick up small objects out of the reach of the hands, and also to scratch the lower extremities. The two middle fingers of the hand and the three smaller toes of the foot are seldom used by the Ainu, and are somewhat inert. The little finger is slightly more active. Whenever Ainu point at anything they habitually do so with the open hand, for they have a certain difficulty in using any finger separately. This difficulty is not so great with the first finger ; but where a European would use only his thumb and first finger, an

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Ainu uses all four fingers and his thumb as well, as in carrying food to his mouth, picking up small objects, lifting a cup, pulling his own hair, scratching his ears, &c. That the Ainu have more muscular power in the head than either in the hands or feet when violent exertion is required is certain, as I had frequent proof when requiring natives to make my baggage fast with ropes to my pack-saddle. Where a European would have done this by passing the ropes round the baggage and pulling them fast to the saddle, the Ainu set his foot (generally the right) against the baggage and pulled the ropes with his teeth. By this method he used one-third more force than he would had he done his work with his hands. Though the Ainu are very supple about the body, they are nevertheless stiffer than we are about the knees and hands, which last peculiarity prevents them from learning any kind of sleight-of-hand. They are supple because of the singular flexibility of their spine and the "looseness" of their arms about their shoulders. When resting or tired, the shoulders droop so far forward as to prove that the muscular tension which we constantly exert to have "square shoulders" is foreign to the hairy people. The Ainu are deficient in biceps, and such an arm as a blacksmith's or athlete's, which is not uncommon among ourselves, is in Ainuland a thing unknown. Their muscles have not the firmness of those of civilised men. Want of use entails loss of power in the muscular system, and that, unfortunately, produces further results in paralysis, *kaki*, and rheumatism. In the legs the *tendo Achillis*, which often assumes such enormous proportions with us, is only moderately developed with them, though it is generally larger than the biceps, owing to the habit of walking and riding. Notwithstanding this, the centre of muscular power, as we have seen, is undoubtedly in the head, as with inferior animals; and the Ainu are fully aware of this, for if not why should they carry all weights on the head or by the help of the head? Why should they use their teeth instead of their hands when an extra powerful pull is required? And why should they *push* with their heads when pulling with their teeth is not practicable?

Having examined the different movements of the Ainu, let us now take some account of their attitudes. What struck me

THE INAU

782 which represent the ancestors, used to accumulate till they formed
 778 banks several feet thick. In this region one does not see such quan-
 [184] tities, but in the north, at Pihoro in the province of Kitami, and
 elsewhere, I saw them crowded together in great masses, evidently
 the accumulation of years. Certain varieties of winged *inau* are
 anthropomorphic and rank as minor or subsidiary *kamui* in virtue
 of their concentrated *ramat*. Most of them embody spirits which
 specialize in counteracting injurious magic. A few exercise some-
 what wider functions, and one, Chisei-koro Kamui (house pos-
 sessing Kamui) is a permanent inmate of the house and is revered
 as second only to Kamui Fuchi.

824 About fifteen kinds of tree are used in making winged *inau* for
 778 good *kamui* and three or four for the *inau* of evil spirits. First and
 782 foremost comes the willow, used only for good *kamui*. For special
 purposes, or because a willow is not at hand, trees of good repute,
 such as lilac, dogwood, oak or magnolia, are sometimes used.¹

● [826] According to tradition, the human backbone, which is regarded as
 the seat of life, was originally made of a willow branch. This may
 be because it is supple, or because its shavings form the most
 sprightly curls. Elders are so convinced that the willow is the tree
 of life that winged *inau* made from it are regarded as backbones
 for *ramat*.

The *shutu inau* have flaps cut on the sterns, known as wings (*rap*),

¹ *Shutu inau* may be made from the following trees:

- (a) Willow (*nusu*) always when at hand, unless a special property, e.g. durability, be a desideratum.
- (b) Lilac (*pungaum*) is used for some large *shutu inau*, and hand-made *kamui* bodies of the same design, where lasting protection is called for.
- (c) Dogwood (*utuka-m*) is a good wood, also two kinds of magnolia.
- (d) *Push-mi*.
- (e) *Ophe-mi*.
- (f) *Phellodendron amurense* (*shikerebe-m*), is valued for a particular purpose.
- (g) Two kinds of oak (*tun-m*), a true oak, and *pero*, which has a leaf like a 'chestnut oak'. Both of these are still besought for easy childbirth or other protection.
- (h) An ash tree (*pinmi*), though not much used for *inau*. For *wen inau* of *shutu* form, and for special defensive *kamui*, trees of ancient magic repute or having magic odour, such as *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-m*), and bird-cherry (*hiki-m*).

The thorn-bearing *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* (*aiush-m*) and elder are used for *shutu kamui* bodies and also for switches (*takusa*) (see *epiru*, Chapter IX). Poplar (*yaimi*) is said to be offered as a bribe to Pauchi Kamui.—N.B.M.

In the original text *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* was given as *Kalapanax ricinifolium*, but as this could not be identified in botanical works it has been presumed to be the former plant.—B.Z.S.

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
 775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders
 of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally
 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*¹
 of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the
 two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human
 behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat*
 to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes
 from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when
 awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from
 a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or
 another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go
 forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
 [828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to
 arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
 674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
 762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
 828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism
 787 were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
 753 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action
 of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which
 had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the
 dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.

775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
 after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
 [826] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
 [966] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau*
 [983] *kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
 766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near
 the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the
 spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

¹ According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The
 soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while
 that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming
 the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings
 are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of*
the Ainu Language, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

/763 cont. /

843 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of
562 attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will
843 then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either
843 because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which
825 move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither
784 spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails
283 of the child might then get entangled like string. The same
286 can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika
I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence
of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the
same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear
that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others.
In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as
household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being
not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for
instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with
many children. She will use these constantly and she will ~~also~~
probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good
remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists
of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific
woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread
belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with
her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who
has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another
remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her
knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble
a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order
to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
806 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general
view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood
which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood
they will have a child born to them in the first or second year
of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

/772 cont. /

841 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If
826 both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childless-
ness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned
[756] above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted
to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse
to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

841 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished
597 with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from
538 relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens
that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and
who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and
exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful
(we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the
weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile.
834 These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu
589 as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are
strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since
they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my
arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her
innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies
[756] and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be
deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous
system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found
women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women
are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was
pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old
man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the
above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many
years.

886 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation
145 ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no
longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, un-
able to give me the average age at which this occurs. The
Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.